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PRACTICAL  
PHILOSOPHER...











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VOL. I.

MARCH, 1866

No. 1.

THE  
PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHER  
AND  
TRUE SENATOR.

EDITED BY R. J. WRIGHT, A. M.

“Never speak unless you have something to say,  
and when you have said, stop.”—*Franklin*.

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PHILADELPHIA:

KING & BAIRD, PRINTERS, No. 607 Sansom Street.

1866.

For Sale by T. R. CALLENDER, Third and Walnut Streets.





*[Wright, Robert Joseph] ed.*

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1866.

**LOAN STACK**

## NEW LIGHT ON GREAT TOPICS.

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### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT AFTER THE WAR.

ONLY THOSE AMENDMENTS WHICH ARE CONSEQUENT UPON  
THE WAR.

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Evils and results of the temptation, to extend the right of suffrage, will be to complicate our policy in regard to Mexico and other countries on this continent, inhabited by inferior races chiefly.

The favorite amendment removes the only check to counteract the temptation to extend the right of suffrage.

It is the result of a reckless combination.

Its most objectionable clause might, and ought to, be submitted separately.

Probable abuse of the clause about citizens of one State having equal rights in all, if the amendment passes.

## NEW LIGHT ON GREAT TOPICS.

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### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT AFTER THE WAR.

BEFORE giving our objections to the proposed amendment of the Constitution, we would suggest what seems to us better means for accomplishing the end in view. This end is the happy and permanent reconstruction of the Union, disturbed by the war. Hence comes the clear principle of making only those amendments that the war itself and its results seem to have made necessary. No radical changes should be made hurriedly, nor without thorough examination, in a good, carefully thought and matured document like the Constitution of the United States.

### SUFFRAGE RESTRICTIONS.

As there are no more slaves, there is no longer necessity for the word "free" in the Constitution, and therefore that word should be removed and the words *white, duly naturalized*, put in its place; thus, to make a clear constitutional recognition of the superiority of the white race.

We would be willing, however, to admit exceptions in the cases of individuals of such races who served, say one year in the army or navy of the United States, during the rebellion, and who have a sufficiently good moral and intellectual character.

The only reasonable objection that can be offered is, that the distinction between the races is only of a temporary nature—that it will sooner or later be done away. But, we answer, that some parts of the Constitution are also of only a temporary nature. It has frequently been altered in many important matters, and does not even contain any distinct acknowledgment of a God. It avowedly provides for its own alteration, and admits the principle of even temporary



clauses ; such clauses having been placed in the original Constitution of 1789.

One argument in favor of this distinction of races and preference for the white race is, that such distinction is recognized by the laws and Constitutions of probably every State in the Union, except Massachusetts ; and a principle so universally acknowledged and received throughout the country should certainly be clearly avowed by the Constitution, now that it has become constitutionally necessary, inasmuch as ordinary laws cannot reach the case at all ; the basis of representation having wisely been placed in the deepest and fundamental part of the law, viz., the Constitution.

We must resort to fundamental reasons and principles in this matter.

The decision of a majority is yielded to, not because of its certain rectitude, but as a means of deciding, thought to be the best yet attained. But it has latterly come to be regarded as proof of *right* by some. And others think and speak of the *will* of the majority, as if the *mere will* of the majority could justify a law, if the law itself were unwise and unjust.

Minorities have rights, because they suffer by a nation's sufferings in war, pestilence, famine, &c., and because human rights are special and personal.

Suffrage is not an inherent or eternal right, but a privilege (political) designed for the good and the rights of all ; not of majorities only.

It were desirable, if possible, to make intelligence and morality the basis of the right of suffrage, but it would be difficult in practice, owing to human infirmity and the imperfection as yet of social sciences.

It is, in politics, often a greater difficulty to know how to do what we need than to know the need itself, especially when the laws are to be carried out by politicians and demagogues greedy of gain.

Race is a *general* evidence of intelligence and capacity, and is the best and most practicable, at present possible.

The principle is partly the same as that upon which minors are excluded. For further remarks on this subject, see the latter part of this article.

The principle of enumerating a certain portion of those inferior races, the same as if they were white, seems good

enough in itself; but it has, from the first, always been considered by the North that "three-fifths" was too great a proportion, and it might well be reduced one-half that figure, thus taking account of about one-third of them for the basis of representation.

But even that should be suspended in its operation for ten or twenty years, thus to give the Southern whites time to become well unionized, before allowing them that small amount of privilege.

This principle of suspending the operation of some parts of the Constitution for a few years, might perhaps be applied profitably to others also, in view of the present situation. Nor is there anything unusual in making such temporary clauses; but their propriety has been acknowledged already. For instance, in the original Constitution of the United States, the slave trade was prohibited, but a temporary clause was added, suspending that prohibition for about nineteen years, and there are also other instances.

We advocate the open and avowed method of doing things generally, and the open and avowed method now, of accomplishing that which is generally admitted to be the real object of the amendment which the House of Representatives has already adopted and which is now forced upon the attention of the American people.

We advocate this open and candid method because it is sincere, straightforward and not liable to a host of unexpected objections and evil consequences, that generally follow the attempt to do things in a secret and concealed manner. (In the latter part of this article for instance—see the results in relation to the other inferior races on this continent.) It is the only method which is just and honorable to the American people.

Another consideration, which, greatest of all, should cause hesitation, is this, viz., in a Democratic country political privileges, once given to the people, cannot be taken away by peaceable means.

You may make alterations *extending* the right of suffrage or proportion of power in representation, and all is smooth and popular enough; but the opposite cannot be done without danger of blood and carnage. Let us be careful then not to make alterations, that will permit some States that we know will take advantage of this permission, to extend the suffrage, for an increase of their own political



power, and that will tempt all the States to extend it to inferior races, minors, &c. It might be doubted whether such privileges, if once given, could ever be recalled *justly* at all, even if necessary, and might not be recalled without bloodshed.

## SECURITY FOR THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The strength of the Government depends greatly upon the treatment of the public debt. We are under solemn obligations to pay it, principal and interest, promptly and freely. Should we violate that obligation in the slightest degree, we not only become criminal but we loose the world's confidence, and so weaken ourselves. *Then* we could not possibly expect to borrow another two thousand millions to carry on another war, though our national salvation depended upon it.

Now let us provide against any such contingency by an amendment, the object of which is to increase confidence in the value of the public debt: something like this, *e. g.*: No law shall be passed impairing the obligation to pay the public debt. Nor shall any debt be incurred, without at the same time imposing such additional taxes as may be necessary to pay the interest thereof, and also, in addition, an annual income of at least five per cent. more than such interest (except in case of invasion, actual or threatened, and *then* as soon thereafter as practicable.) Nor shall the law thus imposing such taxes ever be so far altered as to lessen said income until the whole debt be paid. And this amendment should provide that Congress shall immediately pass such laws as are necessary to accomplish that object in regard to our present debt.

Let it be made felony also, by an act of Congress, for any person holding any political office, whether county, district, State or national, or any publication in the United States, to advocate the failure to pay promptly either interest or principal of our existing debt.

We know that there is some danger that Southern influence, joined with Northern demagogism, may cause or at least threaten the repudiation or neglect of this debt; or may add thereto the rebel debt, (and all its nominal or inflated face value,) by strategic legislation; in either case injuring the value of our obligations, and sacrificing the confidence of the people.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

Another amendment needed is for an improved method of selecting the President, so that the real choice of the majority may be actually discovered.

The people are sometimes influenced to vote for a candidate, not because he is their choice, but because they think their first choice cannot be elected, and some other candidate must be defeated at all hazards.

For reasons well understood among politicians, parties are generally pretty equally balanced, so that they will stand, say, about fifty-five to forty-five in a hundred. The party having fifty-five being the majority, selects a candidate who has a majority of its majority, say thirty votes of the fifty-five, and *not* a majority of the whole people.

Thus it is that the judgment of the majority is not really allowed and cannot be, unless the minority party could have a voice in the selection of the candidates proposed by the majority. And as that could not and would not be done fairly, by any nominating caucus or convention before election, it must be aimed at after nomination, in the actual election itself.

To illustrate our main idea, for instance : if the Republican party could have chosen between the Democratic candidates in 1852, Cass, instead of Pierce, would have been President ; and in 1856, Cass again, instead of Buchanan ; and so, if they could have chosen between the Democratic candidates in 1860, Douglas would have been President. And if even then the great change in parties had come, and the Republicans had carried, then, on the other hand, if the Democrats could have chosen between the Republican candidates, either Bell, or some other one, less objectionable to the Democrats, would have been nominated, in view of that fact ; and some such Republican being thus elected, being less objectionable to the Democratic party, the South would not have rebelled, and their leaders could not have had enough material to work up a plausible case.

Thus, there would neither have been Democratic aggression, nor Kansas outrages, nor Republican outraged indignation, nor Southern rebellion. The will of the majority would have really governed, the principles of wisdom and justice vindicated peaceably, literally half a million of lives saved, and more than a million other hearts would not

have grieved and agonized for their lost ones. Slavery would have passed away in God's own time, by purchase peaceably, at about one-third the cost of the war in money; and honest industry and moral habits among the people been cultivated, instead of overrun with ambition, idleness, instability, warrior tastes, army vices, and other wild growths.

Now a method for accomplishing this is presented thus : Let each elector vote for two names, in this manner, viz. : Taking his first choice, and marking it with the figure 1, and his second choice marked with the figure 2, and so the votes are polled; each elector thus voting for two persons for President.

The following table will show the probable result, if first choice had not had a majority :

	Candidates.	1st Choice.	2d Choice.	Total.	
303	L.....	125 +	50 =	175	Highest aggregate vote, and therefore elected.
	D.....	120 +	150 =	270	
Electors.	Br.....	35 +	40 =	75	
	B'l.....	23 +	63 =	86	

And the following table will show the probable result if first choice had had a majority. It gives under "first choice" the actual vote of the electors in 1860, which in reality would not have been so high if an alternative of this kind had been provided for to them :

Candidates.	1st Choice.	2d Choice.	Total.	
L.....	180 +	12 =	192	Highest aggregate vote, and therefore elected.
D.....	12 +	250 =	262	
Br.....	72 +	11 =	83	
B'l.....	39 +	30 =	69	

In case of a tie between two aggregates of first and second choice, of course the highest on *first* choice is to be preferred.

To enable this amendment to succeed it might be necessary to enact laws, from time to time, to prevent any one party from nominating more than one candidate for one office.

The aforementioned principle of having each person vote for two candidates is a return in part to the wisdom of our forefathers, but with this improvement, that in their plan the person having the smaller or minority vote became

Vice-President, but by our plan such is not the case ; for a separate set of votes for Vice-President are also to be arranged on the same principles and plans as for President.

### EXPORT DUTIES.

Another amendment required is, that the clause forbidding export duty should have added to it the following exceptions, *viz.*: Except during the continuance of and for ten years after the conclusion of any war, foreign or internal ; or, when the market value of gold exceeds five per cent. above the value of the National Bank currency ; or, except the public debt exceeds an average of twenty dollars for each individual of the population of all ages and sexes, (equivalent to one hundred dollars for every family of five persons. Our debt before the war was only about quarter of that estimate, but now it is about five times that.)

### PUBLIC LANDS AND NEW STATES.

Amendments are also needed to restrict an unbecoming haste in the *scheming-up* of new States and the granting away of public lands, except to sufficient settlements and to actual settlers, and on lands previously surveyed by the United States by regular and scientific approaches, instead of following the courses of boundless rivers, &c.

This measure is very important, and its bearings need only be understood to be appreciated. The inclination is so strong and the temptation so great, to distribute the public lands, that only constitutional restrictions can prevent or restrain it.

Under the present provisions this is a great evil, in this, *viz.*, that instead of the lands being sold to actual settlers, to be immediately improved, and so become a source of revenue to the government, they become the property of great railroad monopolies, and for their profit, or else fall into the hands of speculators, and lie dormant and only considered in the light of speculations. Laid out in sections, &c., *only* on paper, sold to capitalists who never saw them, and never care to see them, these sell them again to similar parties, or hold them to benefit by their increasing value ; whereas this increase of value might go towards paying the public debt.

And there should generally be laws to restrict surveys to



parts adjoining actually established settlements, and to regulate their outward progress by some uniform measurement, instead of following the boundless ranges of scattered rivers, and scattering the population beyond all civilization and all the power of government observation or control. And these endless surveys under the present system are getting to cost more than the government gets for the lands. For instance, from the *New York Times* of February 8th: "The Secretary of the Interior reports to the House that the cost of surveying land in California up to the present time is \$1,314,500, and the proceeds of all sales of lands, \$520,765." Yet California has been in the Union fifteen years.

The argument for promoting the emigration thither, based upon the fact of so much gold being found in the far west, will, in a future article, be shown to be unsound; the increase of the circulating medium being in the long run an economic evil to the world at large, and the eager pursuit of it a cause of great social harm to our own people. The interests of the Western States as yet are not identical with those of the Eastern and Middle States.

The West might advocate wars with European powers, perfectly consistent with their interests, yet ruinous to ours. *They* would not suffer from invasion, *their* firesides would not be in danger, *their* manufactories would not rot nor rust from inertia, *their* ships would not fall to pieces on the stocks, nor their commerce suffer. On the contrary, the Western and Pacific producers might unmolested pursue their avocations, and all their products, agricultural and mineral increase many fold in value. Western gold, we find, is a product especially enhanced in value by war. Then after such wars might end, those men, if frightened at the National debt so incurred, or inflated by their rapid growth in wealth and population, achieved by our distresses and by overland mails, overland coaches, Pacific railroads, and other enterprises at our expense, and by their own vast internal resources, might secede, and, securing themselves behind their various mountain passes, set up a new republic; or, what not?

This is not the wild dream it may seem at first sight. These Western States are no more patriotic than we of the East. They seek their own pleasures and their own interests, as well as we, and are somewhat more willful. Did

not California threaten to secede when not admitted as a State as soon as she wanted to be? And we heard an influential Californian make a similar threat within the past four years. Has she not always refused to recognize the United States Treasury notes as legal tenders, in defiance of the law?

These States, these men, have power enough already, and it may be dangerous to concede to them all they ask for *their* aggrandizement. We have always been too prodigal of our resources. Let us no longer waste our substance, nor burden ourselves with interminable and unprofitable surveys, Pacific railroads, &c.; nor encourage semi-savage whites to go beyond the control of society and law, there to raise disturbances with Mormons and ignorant Indians, requiring an expensive army to redress the imaginary wrongs of uncouth outlaws.

They are populating the country in advance of law and civilization. This is demoralizing and injurious to an extent only appreciable when witnessed and understood. Men emigrate *alone*, cutting themselves loose from home, friends, and home influences. Severed from the ties and associations of their youth; deprived of the benefits of the gospel; of the refining influence of female society; and of the sacred atmosphere around the old church-yard and home; the gulf widens between them and good, and men become at first reckless or selfish, then brutal, and in many cases ultimately outlaws.

If more land were really wanted, some excuse might be made. But such is not the case, for there is land enough now in Pennsylvania, New York, or any of our large States, to support our whole population. Not one acre in ten thousand of the land now being pushed into the market, or surveyed, can be settled for many years, but are granted to build railroads; thus, by supporting one monopoly, establish others—monopolies of land thrown away for the speculators to hold, and profit by, when the settlements do come.

The science of human government has not attained perfection, any more than any other science. New ideas will be promulgated by sociological experimenters, and new discoveries must be the result of experiment in this as in any other science. It is a ridiculous conceit to suppose that we have arrived at the acme of perfection in politics,

or governmental matters, any more than in the other science.

Sociology (the science of society) is a new science, and, next to religion, is the most important, inasmuch as it aims to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind at large. Those experimenters best known, are Raleigh, Baltimore, and Penn, of the past; Greely and others of the "Phalanx Co." and Landis, in connection with the Hamilton and Vineland experiments (both successful) and the "Economites," of the present day. And who can say as to the future? May not yet greater improvements arise and inaugurate a new era in the construction of society and government.

*Then* these lands will be needed, and they should be reserved; so that when new lands are really wanted, they may be opened fresh, by new *States* instead of merely new settlements, villages, or mere "squats," and on new and improved principles, in accordance with future progressive knowledge.

Let us not be too fast. The much-hoped-for day may soon come, when every new Western State shall be so settled that the lands will not be sold absolutely at all, but owned by the State, and only rented on long leases, to settlers. Thus all improvement in the value of lands would inure to the people at large. If, for instance, Pennsylvania had been settled on this principle, and so continued, the income now from the improvement in value of lands alone, as ascertained by careful calculation, instead of inuring to the few, would now afford an income of about sixty dollars (\$60) per annum to every man, woman and child in the community, and would thus give, not as a charity, but as a common citizenship, an annuity of say one hundred and eighty dollars to every widow with two children, which would be quite enough to support them comfortably.

The author of this has plans of details for the accomplishment of such results in new States, which he would be glad, on a proper occasion, to lay before the public.

## PUNISHMENT FOR REBELLION.

In regard to punishment for rebellion, such punishment should not be so extensive as to hinder a real re-union.

The true principle why the mass of voters should be ad-

mitted to civil rights, is not from denying that they were guilty, but that it is the only one whereby to restore real National re-union, because of the great number of offenders. And it is the true policy of a Christian government, as the only alternative is the almost total extinction of a whole people.

Always remembering that the object of *any* punishment is to prevent the repetition of the offence—in this case any subsequent attempt to rebel.

If any distinctions are to be made they should be against, *first*, those who advocated the rebellion for months before it occurred; *second*, those who actually *led* as officers at the beginning of hostilities; *third*, those who maltreated Union citizens shortly before or during the war; or maltreated Union prisoners; or who carried on the war by brutal or cruel means, as was often done.

Also, punish by rendering special or flagrant offenders disqualified for any political or corporate office, nor permit to edit any publication, nor to own any publishing business, nor to hold a position as teacher in any college or high-school.

The punishments in the worst cases should be imprisonment at hard labor, and sometimes solitary confinement; *not* capital punishment; the guilt being a kind of "murder in second degree" generally.

(Oaths should not be relied upon, for they are generally given most freely by those who will do the least towards keeping them. Evidences, not words, should be the test, when anything special is required.)

Banishment should be avoided as punishment. It engenders foreign wars.

There should be no farther confiscation of property, except where there is special guilt. But when confiscation is just at all, eschew distinctions about real estate, as unworthy of the great principles of eternal justice and right.

(Yet we condemn the principle of taking back from freedmen and Northern purchasers lands already confiscated, or allowed to them during the war. If any kindness is to be done to the "reconstructed," let such lands be paid for by the government, or Western land given in place thereof; which has another recommendation. The effect of taking the land from the negroes is bad, and the principle of undoing fixed military acts of the war is unsound.)



The laws for punishment should be so based upon inward and moral distinctions, and so reasonable that few special exceptions by the Executive need to be made; otherwise it is working too much in the dark. The Executive must leave much to his subordinates; and there are too many opportunities for prejudice, spite, partiality and corruption.

At least a conditional, temporary amnesty ought to be granted to all, except flagrant criminals, at least for one whole year, to allow them to return to their peaceful avocations of life, and to employ their negroes and work their plantations.

## OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

We come now to giving a few direct objections to a certain favorite amendment already proposed by the House of Representatives, making representation in proportion to the voting race.

This amendment recognizes the fact that each State may allow whoever it pleases to vote at its own State elections; and that then it shall have an amount of representation in the National Congress in exact proportion to the number of those races it allows to vote at its State elections.

This favored amendment is a temptation to all our States to open the privilege of suffrage, not only to the African, but to all the inferior races who may be an element of our population, for example the Chinese, many of whom are in California, and their number rapidly increasing; the Aztecs, natives of Lower California and Mexico; the Indians and mongrel races, that are the only population in some parts. There has been, and probably will be, a considerably increased immigration of coolies. Let it be remembered that these are far inferior to the negroes, not even being Christians, and also less tractable; and many of the Mexican and South American races are only nominally Christians.

The subject of the relations of races among us is prejudiced by two very important matters associated with it in the mind, but having no real, but only sophistical connection with it.

One of these matters is the doctrine of equality, as propounded in the Declaration of Independence. But this

doctrine undoubtedly referred not to political forms or privileges, but to personal rights, for it immediately added, "entitled to the inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And furthermore, the races other than whites in the country then were only the African, lately imported, and in nearly their primitive condition, and the native uncivilized Indians, who to this day are not thought of as entitled to political equality.

The other matter whereby the subject is prejudiced is this, that we have lately been struggling hard to free a whole race of slaves, often badly treated and their human rights before the law nearly all ignored. In such case the ideas of human equality received from us a ready reception, because in our minds we meant civil and personal rights, which are denied to free negroes even yet in some of the Abolition States of the West. But in the Middle States, where people have been in the habit for several generations of considering this subject coolly, and of viewing it from all sides, the principle is easily understood, of allowing the inferior races perfect equality in person, and even for forming the private social relations, whilst reserving from them as yet all political privileges.

Now the great subjects and phrases of expressing human liberty and human equality have among us come to be closely associated with our religious feelings, and in fact have become parts of our religion, as it was among the ancient Greeks. Hence our differences of opinion have all the rancor and all the unreasonableness of religious disputations generally, without the ameliorating influences of the Christian charity and feeling being directly applicable. And hence our struggles about them are in danger of becoming as lasting and as exhausting as the religious wars from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, when they ceased only after it became evident that neither party was either any more convinced nor any more convincing or absolute than at first; that they were mutually becoming exhausted, and must both become nearly exterminated, unless they learned to live together in wisdom and peace.

And now, if men will consider the principles explaining the differences of opinions among religious sects, they can easily apply them to the great questions involved in the reconstruction of peace and order in the United States.

We referred above to the temptation which the new

amendment presents to States, to extend the right of suffrage.

Should such temptation lead to such a result, it would not only corrupt political sentiment, but would complicate the difficulties in the way of our possible future action in regard to Mexico, or any other countries on this continent, as they are nearly all inhabited by inferior races chiefly. This very difficulty was the obstacle shortly after the Mexican war, when we could have had that country. We did not know what to do with the peons, nor would we know now.

We must settle the suffrage question at once, and ascertain to whom the fitness and the right of government belongs; who are to vote and who legislate; or we are liable to be overflowed and politically overpowered by the scum and dregs of every part of God's footstool, from South Africa to Terra del Fuego, voting at our polls, taking away our offices, and embroiling us in continual wars with the governments they may hate; or for the wealth they covet, but are either unable or unwilling to obtain honestly and peacefully.

Under such circumstances we would not dare to take Mexico or any other country or province under our protection, even when solicited, for the governed might soon become the governors.

The Constitution provides one check to counteract the tendency of States to make the voting privilege unlimited. It provides that direct taxes shall be imposed on districts in proportion to their representation in Congress. But the amendment takes away even that check.

This amendment is evidently the result of a combination between Western ambition on the one hand, and on the other hand Eastern fanaticism—that is determined—and whose ultimate object is to extend universal equality to the negro, both in government and in society, reckless of the feelings or interests of the Middle States, and reckless also of all intermediate or moderate opinions everywhere, and reckless of our future relations with the other races on this continent.

The last clause of the amendment as it now stands, *viz.*, "Provided that whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of color or race, all persons therein of such color or race shall be excluded from

the basis of representation," should, in fairness to the American people, have been separate, so that each State might vote as they please on it.

But if the favored amendment is adopted, it will be found necessary to revoke that clause giving citizens of one State equal rights in all the other States, so far as suffrage is concerned, (and enforcing it in all other respects,) or else it will be hereafter so construed as to force the Middle States to give the right of suffrage to inferior races from other States.

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## W A R !

War! War! Wars begin with good intentions; but where do they end? Who can foretell? At first war for the Union, then war for emancipation, then war for negro suffrage and equality, then war against Mormons in Utah, against Spaniards in Hayti, against French in Mexico, against monarchy in South America, against English in Ireland, against nobility in Hungary and Germany, against slavery everywhere, against monarchy everywhere; war against objectors at home; war for old prejudices; war for new passions! War! War! War!



## EDITOR'S ADDRESS.

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### TO THE READER.

The PRACTICAL PHILOSOPHER AND TRUE SENATOR is designed to be a monthly or quarterly publication devoted to the improvement of Government and Politics, Church, State, and Human Society. Its method of discussing is to be by reverting constantly to general fundamental principles, instead of the passions or prejudices of the day, or age, or country.

Before the war the editor had devoted himself mostly to the study of theological and philosophical questions; but, after that outbreak, politics, that he had hitherto considered as, in this country, but little more than party squabbles for place, and words, rose up before him as *the* object to which he desired to devote his time and spare means, if possible.

This publication, when touching religion at all, will be of a broad Christian Catholic nature. Neither will it be restricted to narrow-minded views in regard to civil affairs; the editor being of the opinion, that without a truly biblical and historical cosmopolite feeling, and the maintenance of more reverence and respect among us, the statesmanship and liberties of this world may finally prove to be a stupendous abortion.

The peculiar panacea which we propose cannot, of course, be developed, except in the actual publication itself. It will endeavor to see the inside of its subjects impartially, and to harmonize contending truths; and on new and American principles; and to think several times "before speaking once."

If its contents are to be measured by the bushel or yard, the proprietor is quite confident it will be a failure; but if it is to be estimated by weight, he hopes it may have a better success.

If any surplus, over reasonable expenses, is received for it, (of which a careful account will be kept and published,) any such surplus will be spent in improving the publication itself.

The many imperfections in the style of this number are deeply felt, but will, it is hoped, be excused, on account of there being no time at present to re-write it.

Owing to a great inconvenience of circumstances, no regularity in the time of the future numbers of this publication can be depended upon, this coming summer.

The next number when ready will be duly *advertised*, and will give more explanations and particulars. Also, copies of it, we hope, will be found in the news shops generally,

Persons who favor the enterprise, and who are willing to give it either literary assistance, or their names and amounts for pecuniary donations, to be paid hereafter, are requested to address

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